●212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friederic (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friederic, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
[583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 588 805 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[777] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

Redjang-Lampong OD12
Batak OFT
Makassar OG6
Sumbawa OF18
Flores OF9

[151 cont.]

R-L 212 one of the three. The Redjang who, as is known, inhabit the northern part of Palembang, use bamboo laths as writing material, on which they make the letters with a rentjong, a kind of dagger, from which the writing gets its name, satra rentjong. Satra, a word that occurs in Kawi and is used in Balinese in the form sastra, is the Sanskrit câstra = writing, book. In the archipelago this satra or sastra is synonymous with tulisan, "something which has been written," thus not only writing, but also script. Satra rentjong, therefore, could be translated as dagger-script and understood like our term, pencil-script.

Besides the actual Redjang, this script is also used in the lowlands of Palembang, in the Rawas division, in Pasemah, and in the Jambi Highlands, particularly in Korintji, although modified somewhat there. We have mentioned the Lampong alphabetic writing, used, as the name indicates, in the Lampong districts. It is very similar to the rentjong writing and is scratched on bamboo or written on paper. The writing of the Batak differs B 212 787 in many respects from the alphabets of southern Sumatra; the former is more rounded, the latter more angular. The writing materials of the Batak are again bamboo tubes and tree bark soaked in rice water (2). The divining tablets are written

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch woordenboek, see alim.

principally on tree bark, which is folded together [152] to make S F M 212 a book and then bears the name pustaka or lopyan.

The Dajak, as has been said, have no alphabetic writing; it is otherwise, however, on south Celebes. The Makassarese and Buginese there each write with their own alphabetic writing, but one is essentially like the other. Besides a few minor deviations, the former has four more letters than the latter, namely, the compound nka, mpa, nra, and nc. The lontar palm leaf formerly served generally as writing material; hence, writing is called lontarǎ. In a modified form the Buginese

2: Wilken--189 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar 066
Flores 0F9
Sumbawa 0F18
Philippines 0A1
Javanese 0E5

S F MK 212

[152 cont.] alphabetic is found on Bima, eastern Sumbawa, and on western and southern Flores, brought by Buginese colonists.

Finally, there are some tribes in the Philippines who have alphabetic writing, the Bisaya, Tagalog, etc., but whose script has almost entirely been replaced by Latin characters (1).

P 212

1. Holle, Tabel van Oud en Nieuw Indische Alphabetten [Table of Ancient and Modern Malayan Alphabets], p. 39 ff.

J I 212 114

These are the alphabets existing today. Alphabetic writing, however, has not always been used in the present form. The script formerly used, especially on Java, differs considerably from that used today. This old script has become known from the many inscriptions on stone and metal that are found everywhere on Java, Sumatra, and even on Borneo. The text of these inscriptions is Old Javanese or Kawi, then more or less Sanskrit. Raffles gave his attention to the inscriptions and depicted some of them in his great work on Java. Their accuracy leaves much to be desired, however, and the explanations of them given by scholars who, lacking sufficient knowledge of the language, had to rely on information from so-called Javanese experts have little value. In 1843 the Society for Arts and Sciences [Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen] of Batavia planned to assemble for faithful copying in a Corpus inscriptionum Javanorum" all the available inscriptions on Java, but this plan fell through. [153] Fortunately, there was a young German, Friedrich, who was taken with this idea. After having applied himself to the study of the Sanskrit languages at Bonn and Berlin, he signed up as a soldier in the colonial army as the only way open to him to get into Java and to satisfy his desire to undertake scientific investigations. His knowledge soon became known and appreciated in the Indies, and he was appointed assistant librarian of the above-mentioned society, in which capacity he gloriously accomplished various scientific

I J 212 114 [153 cont.]
missions to Bali, Sumatra, and various parts of Java. He interpreted a number of inscriptions more or less accurately, on which other later scholars could build further. Among others, these were Dr. Cohen Stuart, Dr. van Limburg Brouwer, and Mr. Holle. In 1882 the last-mentioned published a table of old and new Malayan alphabets. Malayan paleography, however, owes its greatest debt to Professor Kern of Leiden. He not only subjected the work of his predecessors, particularly that of Friedrich, to thorough criticism and thereby made many corrections, but he himself deciphered a number of inscriptions, some of them of the utmost importance. We want to call attention to the one of Pelarang, Kutei (southeast Borneo), in particular. Although the inscription on this stone does not bear a date, according to Professor Kern it cannot be later than the fifth century, an opinion based primarily on the form of the characters. This specimen is not only important for paleography but also for history, since it shows how early Hindu civilization was flourishing in Kutei. The oldest inscription, bearing the date 654 Çaka = 732 A.D., was found on Java. It is in Sanskrit and was deciphered by Professor Kern.

The script, at least of the old inscriptions, at first sight shows little similarity to any present-day script. Nevertheless some connection exists between the old and the new script, but more about this later.

All the present forms of alphabetic writing mutually show some strongly pronounced features. To illustrate this with a few examples, they all have one important point in common,
J MK B [154] that the vowel a is inherent in each consonant, whereas the other vowels are indicated by additional signs.

212 194 The consonants are very peculiarly called "mother of the script"; the vowels, "children of the script." In Batak these names are ina ni surat, anak ni surat; in Makassarese, anrong lontârâ and ana lontârâ; in Buginese, indo surâ and ana surâ.

If a word ends in a consonant, then the a sound is taken from the consonant by a special sign, the "vowel killer." In

J M B 212 194 [154 cont.]

Javanese, for example, it is the ꦀ , the patèn Ng., or pangkon Kr. Such a sign, however, is lacking in Makassarese and Buginese, because both languages, as we have seen, are semi-vocalic, that is, they have only a single consonant as a final letter of a word and that is ng. If the words do not end in ng, but in a vowel, then in some cases this is pronounced partially closed. In any case, since consonants do not occur as final letters in the languages named, a sign like the patèn is unnecessary. For instance, one cannot know by looking at kapasă = to hit, to touch, whether it should be pronounced with the nasal at the end, like kapasang, which could very well be the case; however, it would then have no meaning. In this respect, the Makassarese and Buginese languages are somewhat incomplete. The languages of the Philippines show this even more. They are completely consonantal, like Javanese, Batak, etc. Inasmuch as most of the consonants can be final letters. There is no patèn in them, however; the final consonant is simply not written and one has to guess at them. For example, the Bisayan word for cotton is gapas, but it is written in the native characters as gapa, without sa = s. While the script of Bisayan, Tagalog, etc. is very incomplete in this respect, it is also incomplete concerning the vowel signs. The scripts have only two such signs, a point above and a point below the letter, the former for the i and e, the latter for o and u. Apart from these two exceptions, however, one can say that the alphabetic writing of the archipelago can express fully what they are supposed to express. [155] One never need stand in doubt, as is the case for the non-vocalized Arabic, about how to pronounce the words as far as vowels are concerned.

R-L [212 194] There is a drawback, however, in the custom of not writing the words separately, but linked together, which often makes reading very difficult. This is done not only by the Batak, the Redjang, and the Lampong, but also by the Javanese.

I 212 175 Besides these points of similarity, we encounter others, in particular those shown by the form of the letters. Although

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits. 203 6666 6624 596

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren. 778 565 574

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar. 872 346 494 198 435 212●

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

S 691 683 578 828 Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale, and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases. De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst], then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M ●212 871 556 Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social mobility in America). The village folks said there were many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for

M 556 465 651 735 567

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212●

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Frederícy's [i.e., H.J. Friederícy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212•

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not even write letters here. They did not know that their script came from India originally, and they were surprised when I gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach their own language to their children and the latter also learn Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children always have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propaganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone. They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Nevertheless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United States and England. They talk constantly about war films. Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during the war in the United States and which are just now getting into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang showed me that he had learned much about the United States from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy (accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist fighting.

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[857]

M 6065 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic[illegible]life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare, There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

M 602 565 212 601

M 602 171

M/T 582 563 771

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

793 838 548 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

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Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

764 562 178 554 782 796

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

517 546

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the 695 Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal 661 to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The 668 tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. ● 212 In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212●

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764